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THE EDUCATION OF JOHN STUART MILL

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INTRODUCTION

When a man has arisen to great intellectual or moral eminence, the process by which his mind was formed is most instructive. It displays the means of acquiring excellence and the most persuasive way of reaching it.

Studying the education of John Stuart Mill, we learn what factors promoted his unusual attainments and to what principles he was most indebted for his remarkable accomplishments.

Knowing the studies in which John Stuart Mill delighted, the books he chiefly perused, the hours devoted to labor, the people and ideas that influenced him, the character of his parents and associates, we are better able to evaluate the man.

The purpose of this thesis is to relate an unusual experiment in the development of a boy's mind and to show how the ideas and principles inculcated in his youth contributed to the social progress and betterment of mankind.

As one who worked by persuasion, who had faith in a universe of purpose, law and order and whose moral obligation was to be intelligent, John Stuart Mill was the unrivalled benefactor of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER I

Early Education (1806-1823)

John Stuart Mill was born, in London, on the twentieth of May, 1806. He was the eldest son of James Mill, best known as the author of the History of British India, and a friend and believer of Jeremy Bentham's school of utilitarianism. To understand the son's training and his remarkable attainments it is necessary to note the firmness, the ability, the resoluteness, and rigid instruction of his father.

James Mill, the son of a tradesman and farmer, was a precocious child who showed superior talent and fertility of mind. Since his mother's ambition was to bring him up as a gentleman, he was never asked to do manual labor or assist in the fields. Recommended by his abilities to the notice of Sir John Stuart, Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, Mill was sent to the University of Edinburgh by the aid of a fund for educating young men. His enrolment at Edinburgh bespoke his fine ability. Here were able teachers and associates. He studied and was licensed as a preacher but he never followed this profession, since he could not accept the doctrines. He did tutoring for a while then took up his residence in London, at the age of twenty-nine. He liked the city and the contacts it offered. He attended the House of Commons and heard Fox in debate.

In 1805 James Mill, at the age of thirty-one was married to Harriet Burrow of Yorkshire. Her mother was a widow,

possessing beauty and business acumen. She capably managed an establishment for lunatics at Hoxton. She had two sons and three daughters. Harriet was twenty-two when Mill married her. She was very pretty and was not wanting in domestic virtues. She even contributed some inheritance to their early financial struggles. She was not the intellectual companion Mill had expected and their union was not one of happiness. After winning her, James poured out little feeling in her regard. She toiled hard for her family of nine children and her husband John Mill makes no reference to his mother in his autobiography and only an occasional comment on his brothers and sisters.

While James Mill was concerned with bettering social standards for others, to his father and sister he was a "hard unfeeling man". He offered no relief in their adversity but his own meager income and large family may have prevented his so doing. His manner at home was irritable and impatient. While he displayed self-control in the outside world, his manner to his wife and children before visitors was not kindly. He possessed a nervous temperament and undertook too great an amount of work for the human constitution to stand. He was a compound of Intellect and Will.

James Mill was attractive, well-groomed, charming in manner, and an excellent conversationalist. His conversations were full of instruction and his mind rich in suggestion. He had perfect command over his mental resources

and a striking power of argumentation, which made him a born leader. He aimed to establish a name for himself in wisdom and knowledge. Having laid a good foundation in his education, he planned to live by his pen and turn his endeavors to contributing to the welfare of mankind. He possessed extraordinary energy, working from five in the morning to eleven at night. He wrote to a son in college at one time, "he who works more than all others will in the end excel all others. Life is a succession of difficulties to be overcome."

Whatever he did was done adequately and carried the full force of his beliefs. His works are stores of valuable doctrines written with care, correctness, and lucidity. By his own exertions were his thoughts developed and knowledge acquired, thus establishing self-confidence. Though his opinions were not popular, his convictions were strong; he often swayed people with the weight of his opinion and his sustained devotion to the public good, never seeking private gain.

His style was better adapted to didactic measures and works of abstract science. Not given to fancy, reason and analysis were his powers.

He completed his monumental History of India in about ten years, a stupendous task requiring much reading and research. He had calculated the work would require three or four years. Had he foreseen such a struggle, he claimed he

would not have attempted it, since his family was forced to survive on such a meager stipend during this time. By a rigid economy Mill maintained his independence without soliciting aid. This writing was accomplished in addition to his daily tasks and the painstaking teaching of his children which he never neglected. An untiring worker, he believed in using every moment advantageously, not knowing what it was to have a holiday.

Through the influence of this history, containing a vast body of information, he was appointed in 1819 to the India House, where he remained throughout his life's work. His hours were from ten to four, which allowed time for his own endeavors.

James Mill professed the greatest contempt for passionate emotions. He upheld that life, made by good government and good education, would be good. Without James Mill, the son's career would have been inexplicable. His greatest contribution to human progress was his son.

Feeling he was the only one capable of giving his son the kind of education he wanted him to have, he imposed upon the boy a duplication of his own early reading.

John Mill, indoctrinated with the beliefs of his father, was trained to defend and propagate his ideas.

James Mill's definition of education stated, "The end of Education is to render the individual, as much as possible, an instrument of happiness, first to himself, and next to

other beings."[1] He empirically laid down laws and a program of study that no individual could possibly accomplish. One would not think he had been a learner or teacher in this judgment.

Among the qualities of mind fostered by education are knowledge, temperance, and benevolence. Knowledge enables one to adapt means to an end; temperance gives one the power to restrain hurtful elements; and benevolence provides the impulses for promoting others' happiness.

He favored the Greek and Roman writers. With Helvetius, he agreed the mass of mankind are equal as to their susceptibility of mental excellence. While the power of education is great, his fallacy lay in the fact he granted no other influence in shaping the character of men, though he was aware of the physical causes that make for natural differences. He agreed men must be happy themselves to exert happiness and good-will for others.

Plato's writings early impressed him and through the influence of these he early regulated his conduct to a high ethical standard. Principles he studied were given application; his ideal of improving mankind was uppermost in his mind. He helped able young men to find a fitting situation of usefulness comparable to their abilities and qualifications.

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1. Bain, Alexander. James Mill (a biography) London: Longmans, Green and Company 1882, p.247

James Mill would think of education as domestic, technical, social, and political. In early childhood he believed children should be acquainted with pleasure and pain, as both are met in nature. It is not good moral procedure for parents to protect them from pain. The inhibitions that children acquire in early childhood - connecting terrible images with the dark, fears, admiration for the rich and powerful, contempt for the poor and weak, racial prejudices - all need to be eliminated. Regarding temperance, one should tend to do those things that increase the sum of pleasures and that diminish the sum of pains. Sharing in the pleasures of others would induce a benevolent attitude. In social education we should become susceptible to the good and evil regards of society. The stronghold on which all depended was political education.

His reform was not to win followers from one side to the other but to induce all to reason, to see both sides of a question and to seek the truth. He reached the more intelligent minds of the middle class in the industrial centers. He did not feed them on false hopes but pointed out how they could work to improve and lift the level of their living by developing intelligent public opinion.

From 1808 to 1813 James Mill was writing articles of wide scope on Political Economy, Toleration, and Education in current periodicals. The public discontent compelled more serious criticism on the measures of government. He wrote for

the support of a free press and giving the whole mass of the people the capacity of profiting by it, as a path to prepare the triumph of truth and liberty. He pleaded for the spontaneous reflections of the middle class. With his high intellect, his mastery of evidence, his volume of knowledge from history and early writings, he was well fitted to be a political and social reformer.

It was at this same period that James Mill turned to atheism, severing his connection with the church. Negation was his doctrine though he always maintained an interest in theology. It is of interest to note that his family continued to attend church and all the children were baptized.

His most intimate friendship was that of Jeremy Bentham. On one particular rift with Bentham he points out an interesting stand in friendship by saying the two things peculiarly fatal to friendship are too great intimacy and having pecuniary obligations. Mill had warm and close friends but he believed in controlling sentiment and emotion from interfering in endeavor and accomplishment.

Intending to train his son as a disciple in the work and belief of Jeremy Bentham, he undertook a rigid regime, being extremely proprietary and expecting submission to his positivism.

Under such tutelage and strict regime was John Stuart Mill instructed. His remarkable attainments were due much to his training and his plastic nature. Here was a student of

fine intellect, even over-cultivated at the expense of developing a warm generous nature. Mill's thoughts and emotions were separate. During his formative years, the constant association with his father gave him a cold, strong passion for morality.

John was the eldest and favorite of his father. The other children seemed to have disappointed him. While they possessed fine qualities, their physical endurance was not equal to the rigid discipline of a first-class intellect. John possessed the best mental and physical stamina. Through close scrutiny of his developing ideas, his father guided his thinking.

The study of Greek began at the age of three, learning vocables and meanings by means of flash cards. From three to eight years of age he studied Greek, English and "disagreeable" Arithmetic. In his Greek study were included Aesop's Fables, the authors Xenophon, Herodutus, Socrates and the first six dialogues of Plato. In later years he commends his father for the utmost patience shown him and admits frankly he understood little yet this rigorous compelling of his utmost helped to do the impossible. He later recognized that unless a lofty goal was set up or more was demanded of a pupil than his capabilities seemed to warrant, the pupil would not develop his higher powers or fully utilize his capacities.

John gained much understanding in conversing with his

father during habitual daily walks. At this time he was required to give a resume or an opinion on what he had been reading, to which his father would add explanations and enlarge his ideas.

Mill read considerable history, including Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, Watson (a favorite), and Hooke's History of Rome. He enjoyed Langhorne's translation of Plutarch. Two books that delighted him were Anson's Voyages and a collection of Voyages Round the World.

He had few children's books or toys but remembered with delight Robinson Crusoe, Arabian Nights, Don Quixote and Brooke's Fool of Quality.

In his study of history his father had him observe and note civilizations, governments, morality and mental developments of the people. He observed leading men of energy and resource overcoming difficulties. This type of history study and continuity of events is the only true picture history presents. To rectify false judgments or mistaken ideas Mill would refer to the source, and study the records themselves. He found all improvements were made through moral convictions. History was a favorite subject for both John and his father. For an amusement he wrote a history of the Roman government upholding its issues and struggles.

Required to tutor his younger brothers and sisters, a task he did not relish, he learned thoroughly and developed

an explanatory art thereby. This monitor system of instruction was tried later in England but did not prove satisfactory. It was done as a money-saving scheme in hiring teachers but the loss of time to the monitor was considered a handicap.

During this time Mill read the Iliad and became acquainted with English verse. The writer selected for study was Pope, whom Mill enjoyed.

Euclid and Algebra were assigned for study. He had a distaste for mathematics and never credited it with the disciplinary powers of Logic.

From the years of eight to twelve Virgil, Livy, Ovid, and Homer were read. The Greek plays of Sophocles, Euripedes, Aristophanes and many others followed. Aristotle's Rhetoric was studied with great care as a means of observing human nature and life through the ancients. So engrossed did he become with the study of the ancients that he was unaware of modern events.

For composition he was required to translate and write in verse, since this required force, conciseness and art. His writings show compactness, unity, clarity, and his observant powers gained from such exercise.

Milton, Spenser, Dryden and Walter Scott were read. His father was not an ardent admirer of Shakespeare so this training had little emphasis.

In science only the theoretical viewpoint was presented. In physical science his education was defective. Joyce's

Scientific Dialogues delighted the boy, though he regretted he had no training in experimental proof.

At twelve years of age he began a higher course of study. Up to this time his mind had stored a multitude of facts; now the second stage of his education began. No longer was he required to only read the thoughts of writers but he must analyse, criticise and evaluate these thoughts. His beginning in logic came through studying the Organon, from which he was required to give minute accounts and to answer searching questions. In later years, he attributed his capacity of thinking to this type of study, which he states is well begun early and far surpasses mathematical reasoning. From reading the orations of Demosthenes he gleaned principles of legislation and government, ideas which he voiced later in constructive opinions. Furnishing him many valuable ideas, Quintilian's work impressed him as a colossal fund of education and culture. For precise thinking Plato and his dialogues offered training. Discovering facts for himself, he developed faculties for thinking and became a precocious logician.

Required to read to his father as an exercise of elocution, he was never shown how to modulate and articulate. Forced to discover improvement by theory, he contended later that some demonstration was of value.

In reading the proof of his father's book, he digested many ideas regarding India. For a mind constantly fed

the amount digested was miraculous.

After his father's appointment to the East India Company there was no let up in his son's education. James Mill well believed children needed rigid discipline for accomplishment. Now John was introduced to a course of political economy, through which he met his father's intimate friend and writer, Ricardo.

This presentation of difficult material, this enriched program, this personal supervision and guidance, the depth of perception cultivated, testified during the years of childhood how much can be grasped, how wasteful is our modern method in presenting material.

Mill never abandoned a puzzle or left any obscure corners unexplored. Possessing marvelous receptive powers, he excelled in intellectual vigor, concentration, will power, and active energy. He employed a conscious, driving effort directed with an end in view. Laboriously applying himself to study, his triumphs of perseverance are manifest in his style of writing. He was considered twenty-five years in advance of his contemporaries. Though he had superior ability, his modesty under-rated his powers.

Like Horace Mann he might have said, "I believe in the rugged nursing of Toil, but she nursed me too much." He did remark that he never was a boy or knew what it was to play. His father, having been trained in youth as a volunteer in the army, had due appreciation for army discipline. He engaged

a sergeant to train John in sword exercise but he had no dexterity and was backward in bodily accomplishments. His nervous energy was absorbed in his mental pursuits. His exercise was gained in walking with his father. Having no companions of his age, he acquired no physical skill in games. His leisure hours, as well as his working time, were spent in reading. Mill never attributed his success in learning to any accomplished talent or capacity. The stress was on his mental and moral development; in earnest endeavor he absorbed a wealth of knowledge.

Mill's education was not one of cramming or of "parrot" learning but one of understanding and cultivation of thought. The boy was well protected from praise and self-conceit. To some he seemed disputatious but he had been encouraged to discern and argue a point to prove its value. H is was a training in knowing versus doing. He was bound to his father not by ties of love but by a feeling of awe and respect. When Sir John Stuart died, he left £500 to John Mill, his namesake, with the idea he should be sent to Cambridge University but his father decided he already knew more than he would learn there. He was recognised as a lad of great promise by his father's friends.

Another unusual circumstance in the boy's training was his complete negation of any religious influence. He experienced no change in religious beliefs, for he had none. He began life without a God. Today when there is far more

liberty of discussion such a negative influence could probably not exist. His father held every form of religion a delusion, pernicious and hateful. With such an influence we know Mill's intellect was cultivated at the expense of the emotional side of his nature. Analysis was overdone. There are inborn fundamental aspirations that transcend logic and Mill's education allowed no place for feeling. The dogmatic atheism of his father was moral rather than intellectual. He saw no reason to infer that good and evil were both identified in religious beliefs in a Divine Power.

James Mill saw that his son was informed of the thoughts and beliefs of mankind but he was opposed to instilling opinions at an age when the individual is incapable of understanding the evidence. He withheld his personal views from the world, though he had strong convictions. It is true that these sceptics may be far more genuinely religious than those who profess and often their ideal of Good is equal or superior to any professed Being or Deity. James Mill's principles extolled wisdom, courage, temperance and justice. Temperance and moderation he valued as a guiding precept of education. Human life to him was not highly rated or valued. He disapproved with contempt, feeling and intensity. Right and wrong came not from feeling but were qualities of conduct.

Thus John Mill saw no reason why religious belief should be so necessary to mankind. It seemed that believers strained to prop up their beliefs and were induced by fear

and superstition to adopt doctrines. While religion might be morally useful, it could not be sustained intellectually. To Mill education had done vastly more than religion to elevate the human race, though religion may have been credited with the gain from education and from public opinion. Where public opinion ceases, there religious motives cease also. An instance proving this is illustrated in the taking of oaths. Veracity is upheld only when enforced by public opinion.

It was not religion that formed the strength of the Spartan institutions but devotion to Sparta. Social morality was extremely independent of religion. The worship of the gods was merely a social duty and was not concerned with conduct.

Mill believed religion served a selfish motive by which individuals seek salvation and hesitate to relinquish self. Since human aspirations are unsatisfied, religion holds out a future promise of reward and grander conceptions of promise.

Mill would preach a more realistic satisfaction can be derived from education. Life is a cycle and one life span makes its contribution to the ultimate end of improving mankind. With such an ideal as a goal, men would not be deluded by the thoughts of a hereafter.

Cicero upheld duty to one's country as the highest goal or aspiration man should hope to achieve, demanding every sacrifice and being the grand duty of life. Such a religion

is not concerned with self.

The prospect of a life after death Mill did not think essential or rational. If men derived more happiness and good in this world, they would not seek rewards and consolations. To lay down life should not be odious or a tragedy, if man is imbued with the well being of his race or posterity.

Mill believed the function of the church should be to teach morality which would exert a more useful influence than the teaching of theology. He realizes it is authority that supports the religion of the mass of mankind, since childhood opinions predominate over those acquired later by the individual's investigation.

Among his father's intimate friends, with whom John came in close contact by sharing his father's study, were Ricardo, Hume, and Bentham. Associating with great minds, conversing with these learned men of high ideals and morals was a privilege and challenge. He deservedly acknowledged the debt he owed these eminent men in influencing his intellectual and moral development.

Bentham's influence, strengthened by his father's approval, was marked throughout his life.

Jeremy Bentham was a Progressive philosopher and the great critical and questioning thinker of his age and country. He could hunt half-truths on a scale both of greatness and minuteness not previously exemplified. Unfortunately he did not see all half-truths nor recognize those outside his

province but of those he saw he examined them with close and accurate logic. It was not his opinions but his method of examination that gave value to what he did. Very few inconsistencies are found in his work. Believing error lurks in generalities, his method was one of detail.

He was a positive thinker with a moral sensibility to reform abuses. He was interested in the change in England occasioned by the Industrial Revolution. His interest was particularly in criminal reform. It was assumed that a heavy penalty stopped crime. Bentham saw that frequently it only increased crime. He was opposed to corporal punishment. It was assumed that the ordinary and predominant tendency of good is towards more good and likewise one bad action leads to others. He decided an intelligent study was needed regarding punishments. The reasons given for punishing were to set an example, and to prevent evil to others. He believed a person was not to blame for his position or environment.

Since the tenor of his own life had been even and sheltered, much experience and observation escaped him and his knowledge of human nature was bounded. However, Bentham holds an indisputable place among the great intellectual benefactors of mankind; his writings belong to the highest order of practical thinkers and give an understanding of his age.

Mill admired Bentham's originality of thought, courage

and independence. He deplored his neglecting "the collective mind of the race" since it limited his sphere of influence.

It was Bentham who invented the designation for "international" law. Through education, regarding the law of nations, he believed a moral sentiment would grow up and act as a restraining force. No nation would want to be an object of contempt and hatred; each nation would value highly the favorable sentiments of other nations.

John Mill pointed out there could be no law of nations, since there would be no power of enforcement. Necessarily, it would resemble the ceremonial of a court. What has been called the law of nations should have been designated as the custom of nations.

Bentham's greatest work was his development of the theory of utility. He believed the motive of all conduct is a desire for pleasure and avoidance of pain. This principle of the "greatest happiness" attempts to give a rational explanation for moral conduct. It is an ethical doctrine or expedient that utility is a test of moral action. It lays stress on the deliberate adoption of the common good as the end of an action.

It was John Mill who transfigured utility into a warm, sympathetic doctrine of utilitarianism, of which we shall hear more later.

It was on a visit to Bentham with his father, through Oxford, Exeter, and Plymouth, that Mill acquired his taste

for natural scenery. Impressed with the surroundings, he realized the contribution of environment in elevating people's character.

Now at the age of fourteen, John left London and travelled to Paris with the Samuel Benthams. This tour on the continent included an excursion to the Pyrenees. The impression of this mountain scenery to his receptive mind was deep and lasting, stirring his virgin emotions.

Mill liked the French people and carried away a strong and permanent interest in continental liberalism. In following years he continued to keep well informed on French views, so that in judging universal questions his opinion was influenced on more than the English standard alone. He noted the contrast between the French sociability and amiability with that of the English negative reticence.

Mill returned to England in 1821 and began his life of promise as trained by his father. He continued his writing, studied law, and became better acquainted with Bentham, Grote, and John Austin, with whom he read Roman law.

It was at this time that Mill read Bentham's principal speculations, which formed a turning point in his mental history. H e had always been a ssociated with the Bentham idea of "the greatest happiness" but now Bentham seemed to clarify for him what human opinions and institutions ought to be, how they could be, and how far removed they now were from what they should be. This "principle of utility" gave

him a creed, a doctrine, a religion. He began to think in his own right, being emancipated from authority.

He formed a small group called the Utilitarian Society. This word he had read in a novel by Galt. Giving it a new application, it continued in use. This Society gave Mill an opportunity to meet other young men with similar tastes. His zeal to be a reformer now possessed him and happiness seemed at hand. This group attacked different opinions and argued ambiguous terms.

Mill prepared complete abstracts, gaining precision of thought in his reading and writing. In discussions with his father his training in argumentative and oratorical capacities was promoted. His conversive powers were further developed and greatly enriched by discourses with Grote and John Austin, who likewise had a zeal for human improvement.

Through Charles Austin, younger brother of John, he met Macaulay and came in contact with the Union Debating Society, in which a group of young intellectuals had won oratorical laurels. This contact with his contemporaries gave Mill a feeling of equality, where hitherto his associations had been with older men and he was the subordinate. Young Austin's remarks were daring, striking, startling, but decisive and stimulating.

In May, 1823, Mill's father secured for him an appointment to the East India Company, which occupation he followed for thirty-five years. Under his father's guidance, he

advanced from junior clerk to the chief correspondent's post. This post was a boon to Mill, for it enabled him to earn his livelihood as well as allowing time for his private intellectual pursuits. Its greatest drawback was that it kept him in London, while he longed to travel and enjoy country living. As a correspondent for this company, he learned the need of cooperation, of compromise, and the art of expressing an opinion to sway other minds. He learned how to preserve essentials when discarding non-essentials. Among his gifts qualifying him for this post were his honest and rare candour. He was progressive, not lacking courage to publish his changing opinions, and was receptive to new influences.

This period terminates his early training and begins that of self-promotion.

CHAPTER II.

Manhood and Work (1823-1848)

Now that John Stuart Mill was established in the East India Company and launched in London society, he became a champion of a new and philosophical Radicalism. He wrote for newspapers and was the principal contributor to the Westminster Review, a political and philosophical Review, established by Bentham as a Radical organ to oppose the Edinburgh and Quarterly.

James Mill wrote an article for the Review giving an analysis of its work, attacking vigorously other periodicals, the Whig party and its policy. This article hit a high point for Radicalism which greatly enlarged his influence. With his father's views in politics concerning representative government and complete freedom of discussion, John agreed. His father believed so thoroughly in "the influence of reason over the minds of mankind" that he maintained if all could read and have freedom of discussion and thought, reasoning power might be developed. Better understanding would enable mankind to choose representatives who would have the general interest of the people at heart and not be influenced by class distinctions. He was opposed to aristocracy and to an established church whose priests distort the human mind. He upheld a freedom in the relations between the sexes and believed in "improving the moral and intellectual condition of mankind by education."

The democratic sentiment was strong and John Mill was one of its strong supporters and promoters. It is the democratic principle that works in the interest of the greatest number. The primary ethical principle of democracy is faith in the educability of people.

Like Plato, Mill believed the wisdom and virtue of the citizen was the only proper end of government. The State exists for the individual. In a democracy the mass population rises morally with the spread of knowledge. Advancing civilization shows the power passes more and more from individuals to the masses. The savage has no social feelings. Being selfish, he is unable to compromise and sacrifice for others.

Both father and son agreed that to secure any change in the characteristics of a human being, for better or worse, his education must be affected.

As a means of cultivating the mind, education had two immediate aims; to supply information, and to train the faculties. It is in the earlier years in systematic education that one acquires the factual knowledge and more easily molds his capacities. In later training Logic should be studied as a means of forming public opinion. Logic prevents wrong and requires exactness in finding the right.

It is in a small society that public opinion exercises its most salutory influence. The same is true in the writing of books. When few books are written they are done well

knowing they would be carefully read. Mill saw the tendency of the world to bolt its intellectual food and acclaim the writer who spoke frequently instead of the one who spoke less often but wisely. In the first instance mentioned literature becomes a mere reflection of current sentiments and not an influence to enlighten and improve.

Education should be in progress throughout life, since it assists our adaptability to our surroundings. As we meet new situations and new conditions, we may alter our views.

Mill was peculiarly deliberate and slow in forming his opinions. He came to no snap judgments but labored a point until he felt he could justify his stand on the question. He was cautious, too, in his spoken utterances.

He deplored the ambiguous meanings put on terms. In terminology and the correct use of a word, he was precise. Whatever a word might signify, it must not signify one thing to him who uses it and another thing to him who hears it. The two methods by which a mutual understanding may be attained are by definition and exemplification. A term which does not represent something in experience has no meaning at all. We are led to perplexity and confusion by inadequate definitions and no one can form judgments better than his means of information permit.

Mill was disturbed that people applied no principles of studious exactness, nor bound themselves to maintain a standard but lived in a confusion of many standards. Too wide

a field for rationalizing actions and thoughts, instead of restricting and limiting them, caused confusion.

To Mill, a modern democratic view of education was a cure-all for all social ills. Mill was convinced that opinions compel changes and education must train people to think independently and arrive at correct conclusions. All improvements are made through moral convictions. Sources of evil spring from ignorance.

Dependent on a system of education is national prosperity. It would help to get rid of individual poverty by controlling the population. Freedom and liberty do not include the right to neglect the education of children, neither for the child's sake nor the sake of society. Therefore Mill would recommend the government aid those who cannot afford it for themselves. As people become more enlightened they appreciate education and are willing to pay for instruction. Since the State takes care of the criminal poor, unless it aids others who are poor it would seem to put a premium on crime. While the state should aid in education and require it to be compulsory, Mill would not have the state prescribe the educational pattern, for this would make too much uniformity. Mill believed in "diversity of education," for he would not have a stereotyped public opinion or a despotism established over the mind. He appreciated the great value of individualism, which overcame authoritarianism. This diversity in training

also maintains a minority group, which is a powerful force for progress. The minority of today becomes the majority of tomorrow. It is the minority group which shows more independence of thought. People are the product of their training and diversity results from differences in their education.

Mill favored a universal, unsectarian, compulsory form of education for both sexes. Schools serve society best in the development of critical reasoning and in the open competition of thought truth will win out. The Chinese impressed the best wisdom they possessed in their learning but censorship brought about stagnation. Only a thorough discussion and investigation can build deep enough for abiding loyalties. To rectify false judgments and correct mistaken ideas, Mill suggested going back to the sources of information and studying the records themselves. The pupil interacts between the past and his present associations. We owe more to our inheritance than what we achieve by our own efforts.

Mill's theory of education runs through all government. While his course is an aggregate of academic subjects, he would not only learn in an abstract way but assist with demonstration and motivation.

He believed in vocational training, manual and practical training in skills, the study of science to correct erroneous thinking and overcome superstitions, hygiene (for those who dissipate their health rob society of their service), military

training for discipline, and a training in altruism.

Fundamentally sound, Mill believed "Education, habit, and the cultivation of sentiments, will make a common man dig or weave for the country, as readily as fight for his country."[2]

John Mill could never free himself from intellectual thraldom yet he came to feel the inadequacy of his untrained emotions. Since his father had been so strongly opposed to feeling, it was natural that poetry had not received merited emphasis in his training. The effects of youthful habits of thought kept him in the realm of the abstract. W. L. Courtney says, "Analytic habits are a perpetual worm at the root both of the passions and of the virtues."[3] Mill never saw life wholly since "heart and mind are not separate adjuncts in a man's being." His thoughts appeared inconsistent and seemed clouded by the influences of his father and Bentham. The younger Mill discovered both the worth and necessity of self-sacrifice. To Bentham and James Mill, unselfishness was impossible in their creed.

Maccall, a friend to whom John Mill was deeply attached, wrote of him, "Mr. Mill is a student, not of rich mind but of

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2. Mill, John Stuart. Autobiography, New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1873, p.232.

3. Courtney, Wm. Leonard, The Life of John Stuart Mill, London, W. Scott, 1888.

fine intellect, over-cultivated. As a student he has the worse prejudices. He views society as a debating club. He is too fond of demonstrating everything."

While writing for the public he continued his education and self-cultivation. A group of companions formed a class to study German and science. They read and discussed principles of political economy followed by logic and analytical psychology. These discussion periods developed his original and independent thought with a thoroughness that encouraged the complete exchange of ideas. No half-informations remained but the question was pursued until a satisfactory understanding was reached. He was a logical reformer among his associates. From 1821 to 1826 this was his object in life, to reform.

In 1826 a transformation took place in his opinions.

At this time Mill suffered a nervous state of collapse. He experienced a mental and physical crisis. Such a mental crisis is not uncommon but its issues differ with different men. To some it means a resignation of earlier ideals, an unworthy cynicism, or an enlargement of view. As newer thoughts uprooted his cherished opinions, his peace and self-control were upset. During this period of self-questioning he wonders if one's main desires were fulfilled, and all the reform anticipated, realized, would one enjoy happiness and a state of joy. He was aware the answer to this query would be negative. His whole life had been devoted to such a goal and now life seemed empty.

He had no one to whom he could turn during his struggle and discouragement, for his whole scheme of education had been opposed to any show of feeling. He had been brought up to associate pleasure with all things beneficial and pain with those that were harmful. He was now aware that the habit of analysis has a tendency to wear away feeling. He realized his education had cultivated his powers of analysis at the expense of his feelings. Since he had enjoyed distinction and importance at too early an age, he was now indifferent to any pursuit. He could still carry on his writing, so strict had been his regime, his habits so thoroughly fixed, his thought-grooves so deeply carved.

The congealed grief of this period of despair was convincing. In later months, while reading a passage that moved him, he was aroused by a burst of tears. This crisis relieved his mental stress by proving he was not devoid of feeling and hope was renewed for him. Life took on a new interest. While he still believed happiness to be the end of life, he knew it came indirectly. It is only when our minds are concerned with others and their well-being that we attain happiness. It is not a selfish thing that can be sought as a possession. Everyone should attain some happiness by enjoying life's blessings as he progresses but it must not be sought as a "prime motive of existence". To aim at happiness in this way is to lose it.

Mill now proceeded to center his interest on the internal

culture of his being, fully realizing that the passive as well as the active capacities must be cultivated. He now looked to the growth of his feelings as of cardinal importance. In the English character the exercising of sympathies is subdued.

He renewed his study of music. The poems of Wordsworth were medicine for his mind, for they voiced so vividly his state of feeling. Wordsworth's poems of rural objects and natural scenery addressed themselves with import to Mill in his dejection. These poems of quiet contemplation in the common feelings and destiny of mankind struck a chord that harmonized in a bond of understanding for Mill.

He continued his reading of poetry, studying Goethe and the German poets. He became associated with Maurice, Sterling, and Coleridge. It was Coleridge's questioning of what is meaning that provoked Mill to write his noted essay contrasting Bentham and Coleridge. He realized poetry paints the human soul truly and required a high intellect to feel or experience. The novelist knows life and sees excitement without; while the poet knows the inward man and is confined to a depth of sensibilities within his observation. He regards poetry as "man's thoughts tinged by his feelings." Poetry is <u>over</u> heard and unconscious of a listener, while eloquence supposes an audience to be heard and is concerned with understanding the feelings of others. The faculty of poetry is to attempt to understand one's own feeling. Mill is

aware of poetic natures who are different, even though their message is no truer than the poet of culture. Two such contrasts are Wordsworth and Shelley. Mill believed all men are poets at some period in their lives, for whoever writes out truly any human feeling is writing poetry.

From his contacts with poetry Mill realized education must include a training of the feelings. He now understood a phase of education lacking in his father.

In reading Macaulay's attack on his father's Essay on Government he realized the defects in his father's conception of philosophical method as applied to politics. This led him to examine the problem of Induction. He discovered that we work from generalities to particulars. He now saw that politics is a deductive science. He realized and formulated these opinions regarding governments: (1) the human mind has a certain order of possible progress; (2) all questions of political institutions are relative; (3) different stages of human progress should have different institutions; (4) government is always in the hands, or passing into the hands, of the strongest power in society, and institutions depend on this power.

It was in 1829 and 1830, through his French readings, that Mill became acquainted with the St. Simonian School and their scheme of Socialism. They had divided all history into two periods, the organic and the critical. The organic period is a time of progress and belief in a creed; the critical period

follows when mankind has lost the old convictions and is awaiting a new creed. Christianity was an organic period. The critical period followed with the Reformation which still remains. (perhaps the atomic age will bring a new organic period.) Through the St. Simonians and the writings of August Comte, Mill understood the peculiarities of a period of transition in opinion.

It was the St. Simonians who proclaimed the perfect equality of men and women, and a new order regarding their relations with one another. Mill admired their boldness and freedom from prejudice in treating the subject of family reform. They would have labor and capital managed for the general account of the community, each individual contributing his share of labor.

The Simonians maintained society should be divided into three classes - the priests, the savants, the laborers. To them religion was a human invention. They would have the savants supported at public expense. It was the St. Simonians who advocated the union of England and France. In June 1940 this idea was renewed when the British government proposed to France the formation of a Franco-British Union.

Strongly opposed, like his father, to the aristocratic classes, Mill regarded them as demoralizing, since they placed private interests over public welfare and strove for riches rather than the improvement of the masses.

At this time the French Revolution occurred arousing Mill

to write avidly regarding it. He was awakened to the principles of democracy which he championed. Carlyle read these articles and called Mill a "mystic". Their views were at opposite poles. Both were lovers of truth but Mill was unimaginative and Carlyle could not comprehend the limitations Mill had been subjected to in his education. Carlyle was the artist and Mill the humble interpreter. Mill furnished much material to Carlyle about the French people from which Carylyle in his writing reaped the harvest. James Mill had no regard for Carlyle's views.

John Mill made French politics a special study in the Reform party. His father followed this course of events with keenest interest.

Mill vindicated the French Revolution on the grounds that it was the demands of the people seeking improvement. He assailed Lord Brougham for his ignorance displayed in an article opposing the Revolution. Revolutions are the result of conservatism. No government can expect to be permanent unless it promotes progress.

Wherein the French failed was in their attempt to reclaim old powers and revive old rights instead of discarding the weaknesses and starting anew. Truths established by common sense at one period of history may by data later discovered become an untruth, so that progress is continually linked with acquiring knowledge as it is available. The French mind is not given to compromise as is the English mind, so they do

not sympathetically understand each other. Mill tried to bridge this gap.

During the years 1834-1840 a new periodical, to be an organ of philosophic radicalism, was founded. This took the place of the Westminster Review. It was proposed by Sir William Molesworth that it be conducted under Mill's guidance. It was first founded as the London Review, then later became the London and Westminster. While as a whole it did not reflect or represent Mill's views, he carried it on successfully. Mill was constrained by his father in voicing some of his opinions, since now their views quite differed in certain doctrines. His father contributed articles until 1835 when illness caused him to abandon this task. For years he had been troubled with gout and his daily walks were maintained as a health measure.

In 1836 James Mill died. His contributions were great and his influence far-reaching in politics and analytic psychology. His best known works are his History of India and Analysis of the Human Mind, which won a well-defined place in the history of psychological speculation. His power and influence were not to the fore due to two reasons. First, his work is submerged in the fame of Bentham, of whom he was a fervent disciple; secondly, the spirit of the age showed a marked opposition to his forward outlook. James Mill was of the eighteenth century and the transitional period of the early nineteenth. Like those of Thomas Paine of this same

era, the ideas of these men were far in advance of the people. James Mill wrote on no subject that he did not contribute to it valuable thought. He was careful, correct, and lucid. His works are stores of valuable doctrines. His efforts to promote freedom and progress and the influence of his forceful mind and character had no competitors.

Now in 1837, when his father would not be affected by his views, Mill opened the Review to many controversial articles. By this time he had taken over its management and continued its success. His articles in the Review popularized the success and reputation of Carlyle's French Revolution.

He now resumed the writing of his Logic. In this, at first, he was greatly influenced by Comte, the founder of positivism, but later he came to a striking disagreement with his views, for Comte ignored the value of liberty and individuality. He would have "general opinion wielded by an organized body of spiritual teachers." He had advocated a new religion was necessary - the Religion of Humanity.

Mill hoped to stir up the educated Radicals, in and out of Parliament, to form a powerful party of influence but the time was not propitious. The fervour for reform was at an ebb; no men possessed the degree of leadership needed, though Mill did help Lord Durham to exert influence which helped to promote the self-government for Canada.

In the spring of 1840 Mill gave up the Review due to its burden on time and money. He felt that he had accomplished his

purpose, since it had been an instrument through which he voiced and clarified his opinions. Now he needed the time for other endeavors.

His first task was to complete his Logic. From 1840 - 1841 he rewrote the complete book. His books always were submitted to a complete revision, which method of writing he recommended. The first draft caught his inspiration and plan of arrangement, the second draft or revision was for precision and completeness. He was influenced in this thinking by August Comte. It was not a popular book, nor was it intended to be, but it came into prominence later because it provided an opposite view to the usually accepted one of human knowledge by supplying experience and association. Dr. Bain said it was the best book in his library.

Mill was a real logician. To him Logic was the science of sciences. He excelled in giving precision to an idea and disentangling a principle from faulty details. He always aimed to strike a balance by his extreme rationalization.

His Logic gave a clear and patient analysis of the procedure of science. In fact he claimed logic was the organon of science. He supported the inductive method, explaining it with exact and extensive applications. We have no right to presuppose; we can only count on experience. Proofs in mathematics, which rely on axioms and postulates, are not as sound as logic. There can be no definitions of things since we cannot go beyond experience. However a definition can mark out a

quality in an object.

Since a middle course is necessary between experience and reason, he allows "abstraction". Abstraction is the power of isolating elements. Induction triumphs over abstraction, since induction calls on experience which is practical, while abstraction can only be speculative.

His careful exposition of experimental inquiry is comparable with the Tabulae which Francis Bacon gives in Novum Organum.

The four major steps in the method of Experimental Inquiry he lists as: (1) method of agreement, (2) method of difference, (3) method of residues, (4) method of concomitant variations.

To resolve doubts demands evidence. The habit of forming opinions and acting upon them without evidence is one of the most immoral habits of the mind. The consequences of our actions result from our opinions, so that the habit of neglecting evidence in the forming of opinion is the habit of disregarding the good of our fellow-creatures. One of the grand objects of education should be to generate a constant and anxious concern about evidence for formulating opinions. By inquiry and discussion we learn to discriminate. An opinion may contain prejudice, so it calls for proof through reasoning. From this reasoning process major and minor conclusions are reached. Finally the result is subjected to scientific investigation.

In our thinking we follow four patterns: the simplest,

reverie - the making of minor decisions - turning the problem over by rationalization - and lastly the highest and philosophic, reflection. Reflective thinking considers the idea in the evidence that supports it and follows it through to the conclusions that it tends.

At the same period Mill turned to writing his Political Economy. Many of his principles are in vogue today and they have exercised a dominant influence over the thoughts of the thinking world.

In his early study of Plato and Socrates, Mill had learned that morals and politics are affairs of science to be understood only after severe study and acquiring the habit of sifting opinions.

The power of the press and freedom from governmental control are two of his major treatises.

For reducing great inequalities of wealth under the system of private property, Mill would form cooperatives, thereby abolishing the wage system. This system of cooperative production defines Mill's theory of socialism. Labor unions governing the hours of labor with emphasis on leisure hours he would demand but healthy free competition and production otherwise should not be restrained. It is an incentive to industry over indolence. The evils and limitations existing he would struggle to overcome by education.

To Mill, society was a collection of individuals. People achieve a high degree of success in their struggle with Nature

in proportion as they are self-dependent, relying on what they themselves can do, either separately or in concert, rather than on what others do for them. Mill did not believe in government "mothering" the people. Weakness is no justification of suffering. Kindness under injustice is meaningless. Society is in error if conditions are not adjusted to the weak as well as the strong. Governmental interference is only justified in its purpose to safeguard the freedom of the oppressed. The abuse of power was uppermost in Mill's animadversion.

His economic policy was that of laissez-faire. A minimum of governmental control is adequate to restore any equilibrium. He deemed no brain big enough for regulating central or planned economy. Only to prevent the waste of natural resources or to avoid the duplication of activity is collective action and monopoly needed.

Mill looked forward to a time when there would be no enormous fortunes or inheritances. Each would possess only what he had accummulated during his lifetime. The right of bequest should permit people to have a right to what they have earned but not to what others have earned. If one's earnings are beyond reason, it again is an error of society. Private property does not need to be abolished but it needs to be reformed. Since self-interest is basic, unless people share in profits or are devoted to the public good, reform will be necessary.

Land and raw materials are not private property. Mill

does not wonder the Irish were backward, since rewards of their labors went to absentee owners. If they were given an interest in improvement for their own benefit and from tenant peasants were elevated to the rank of farmer, it would give them encouraging influences of ownership. France had made this same error and it took a revolution to point out her mistake. Mill's plea was for confidence between landlord and tenant and for the tenant, fair compensation for his improvements. While Mill felt land might be socialized, he did not proclaim it as being expedient. A land tax might aid the socialization of rents. Since property is an historical category, as conditions change the form of property should change.

Mill approved the police and social service functions of government.

He also believed in trying socialism, communism, and various forms of government as experiments. It is only by trying that the real strength or weaknesses of a system can be tested.

Mill had a strong leaning towards socialism. The State should be a great benefit-society or mutual-insurance company for helping that large population of its members who cannot help themselves. His theory is a social individualism, whereby in bettering one's own state the influence will reach out to all. He sees in Communism the danger of uniformity.

Mill's sincerity in his beliefs is unmatched. Fairness and service ruled his life. Indoctrinated as a youth with the

radical individualism of his father and Bentham, individualism permeated his economic doctrines, though he advanced and reacted to new conditions with ideas contradictory to his earlier training.

His major plea is for a system of education, for good government depends on the moral and intellectual development of its people. Loyalty and cohesion exist only with enlightenment. There must be freedom of discussion. The clash of opinions sharpens and stimulates; suppression and censorship dull and defeat a goal. For refuting error and finding truth differing opinions must be coerced. Truth has nothing to lose by being explored but everything by being ignored.

Mill now withdrew from general society, "an insipid affair" consisting of trifling chatter, since serious discussions were considered ill-mannered. Society, he believed, served only the mediocre class or those who have material or personal gains to be derived from its contact. People of mental superiority are deteriorated by this loss of time and lower level of communication. "A person of high intellect should never go into unintellectual society unless he can enter it as an apostle."[4]

Some of Mill's best writing and expression of opinions were in his letters. Rough drafts of these have been found

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4. Mill, John Stuart. Autobiography, op. cit. p.228.

among his papers indicating he meant to publish them some time.

Now we turn to his later years and published writings.

CHAPTER III

Marriage and Later Writing (1849 - 1873)

It was in 1830 that Mill first met Mrs. Taylor. Mill was twenty-five and she was twenty-three. This meeting came about through a family acquaintance and was further stimulated by Mill joining a selective circle of friends for familiar intercourse. This meeting with Mrs. Taylor and the intellectual friendship that followed was termed by Mill the third crisis in his mental development.

Mrs. Taylor possessed a rich powerful nature. Outwardly a beauty and wit, to her inner circle of friends she displayed strong feeling, a penetrating intelligence, and was of a meditative, poetic nature. Her friendship with Mill lasted for twenty years, when fate made it possible for her to become his wife. She had been married at a youthful age to a highly respected man. Unfortunately, he did not share her high intellectual tastes as a companion but he was a devoted husband and father. Mill was criticised for this intimate friendship and his reputation somewhat suffered thereby. Mill's affection for her was intense and he rated her powers and mental capacities beyond measure as unapproachable. We might say she was his religion; he endowed her with such attributes. We grant she possessed deep feelings, high intellectual powers, an honest emancipation that gave her liberty of expression and a passion for justice. Her unselfishness and generosity were not

qualities performed from duty but were offsprings of the heart. The expression and development of her talents were remarkable.

Mill made frequent visits to Mrs. Taylor at both her town and country house. She could converse with him in all his intellectual endeavors and with her practicality made him see points with greater clarity.

In 1851 Mill married Mrs. Taylor. This union brought him his greatest source of happiness. Their work now was a joint endeavor combining intellectual interests and abilities. He attributes the finest contributions and revisions of his work to her understanding and interpretations. It was in the Principles of Political Economy that she suggested the need of a chapter on The Probable Future of the Labouring Classes. No doubt his intellect was greatly magnified by this contact of a kindred spirit but his emotions were certainly swayed and enlarged in feeling a "light" shed on all he had hitherto coldly analysed. Her practicality of mind greatly clarified his perceptions and judgments, so that his convictions became less fixed and his mind fused with hers in greater clarity.

Under her guidance he qualified his ideas on socialism and modified his conception of democracy. We have already seen that he went beyond the democratic principle regarding property, inheritance and injustice. In his leaning toward socialism he realized it demanded a higher type of character. Through culture he believed mankind could be raised by slow degrees to think of the common good above personal advantage.

It was during this period that Mill read M. de Tocqueville's Democracy in America, which strongly influenced him. He reviewed this treatise in an article in the Review for two specific reasons. First, he wished to arouse his countrymen to the advance in French thought; secondly, he interpreted to Englishmen the change in continental feeling regarding the passion for equality not felt in England.

John Mill had made French politics a special study in the Reform party. His father followed this course of events with the keenest interest.

M. de Tocqueville's essay treats of the political effects of democracy and its wide influence on society. He had probed the subject thoroughly and felt Democracy was desirable and inevitable. Its destiny he believed lay in the hands of the people.

Mill, likewise an ardent believer in the democratic theory, considered it not a form of government but progress and equality between man and man. To him equality meant either the equal freedom as was seen in America or equal servitude which he feared for France. A democratic state of society must have democratic institutions. Democracy is not a gift but an achievement which demands cooperation.

In England a change was underway. The working people were becoming more like Americans and the government was progressing from that of the few to the many. There was a levelling spirit abroad between the classes. The Reformation saw the

dawn of public opinion influenced largely through the newspapers. It is alarming today to know in England there is controversy over the freedom of the press and a desire to curb criticism of the present regime. Charges that newspapers are too critical of government cannot be sustained by evidence. People are no longer free when deprived of the right to criticise their government. A critical press, reflecting a critical public, is a nation's safeguard.

While France had worked for equalization of conditions, no progress of public spirit had taken place nor were there any institutions to promote it. The French people were passive and as M. de Tocqueville says unlessmen possess energy it cannot be breathed into them by advice or exhortation. The lack of this quality of energy is a nation's weakness. But democracy produces a restless activity, a super abundant force, which under favorable circumstances should beget amazing benefits. In an autocracy the lack of activity enervates the people.

In America, the people participate in their administration and learn through their activity . As many offices as possible should be open for this learning by doing. Books alone do not educate; life must be lived. Activity keeps a nation alive and training is offered by experience. Fewer things are done well or in detail in a democracy as contrasted with despotism but activity expands with the courage of speculation. People are trained to see the needs of society, then aided by public

opinion, they correct their institutions. The French Revolution failed because things were done for the people instead of by the people.

Democracy offers a double incentive enabling the people to improve themselves; and for those desirous of initiating reforms, a chance also to improve the people.

Liberalism has worked best in America, encouraged by many opportunities and the pioneer spirit. Economic individualism was a living experience there. Mill was a great believer in "rugged individualism." He, however, conceded no individual possessed sufficient intelligence to rule without consulting the people.

In America there is no contented poverty since all have the chance to acquire riches by exerting their efforts. The danger however may result in people being devoured by ambition and still not be ambitious.

Widespread education is a democracy's foundation. Suffrage should be limited to those who are educated, for the making of laws is a trust that needs to be delegated to experienced minds. Impromptu laws have no design. A steadying influence is created by a representative assembly exercising a controlling and deliberating power on the laws.

M. de Tocqueville believes America requires little government due to her location, the fact she is a young country confronted with no old problems to be solved and the good fortune of her people not being in want.

Among the disadvantages pointed out in a democracy are: rapid turnover in elections, unprofessional statesmanship, lack of traditions, and unpremeditated activity. Since office holding offers no attraction or warrants no prestige and little remuneration, the best do not serve nor do the people make the wisest choice in their leaders.

Where number overwhelms quality, there is apt to be a "despotism of the majority." With little dissenting opinion, tyranny over the mind results. Against these political evils popular education is the only corrective.

In applying this study of democracy, Mill points out the power of the middle class that is developing in England. He places much faith in the growth of this class. He stresses the need of diversity among the people. For proper balance there is needed an agricultural class, a leisured class, a learned class, as well as the more restless, active commercial class.

In a great industrial country, it is the quiet farming districts that are the happiest. The agricultural class is a great counter-balance to the others. Finding farming an interesting, satisfying occupation, they become more stable. Local attachments are of importance to them. Looking up for guidance, their need is for education, so that harmoniously they may work together with no feeling of opposition toward other classes.

During the Famine in Ireland Mill wrote articles in the Morning Chronicle trying to offer relief in their destitution

by suggesting permanent improvements in their social and economic conditions. Since his ideas were new and strange they were not grasped. One has to pave the way slowly for social reforms; the ground must be prepared before the seed is planted. Parliament erroneously passed the Poor Law which maintained them as paupers. The Irish reaction to this was emigration. Mill justly berates the English stand on this issue.

The European reaction after 1848, the success of a usurper in 1851, lessened any hope of freedom or social improvement on the Continent. Even though people correct some errors in their thinking, the general discipline of their minds is not changed. Modes of thought must be changed before improvements for mankind are possible.

A combined effort of Mill and his wife was the essay on the Subjection of Women. Her contributions were the human and practical elements interwoven with the abstract and scientific thoughts of Mill. She, possessing an existing knowledge of mankind, pointed out the weak points in his suggestions.

This book, the most eloquent of Mill's works, was packed with thought and fused with conviction. It was a scathing indictment of man's cruelty and arrogance to women. As a reform measure, the book achieved its purpose through its tremendous influence and power.

A question so deeply rooted in feeling was difficult to attack by argumentation. He looked at the issue from many angles.

The equality of the sexes, never having been tried, had only theory as a basis.

Women have always been in a state of bondage to men. Since man feels superior to woman the mental companionship that should exist in the marriage state is lacking and mental progress necessarily deteriorates. The law of marriage cannot be a law of despotism and succeed. Domination also tends to the deterioration of masculine excellencies.

Family life should practice the same moral rule as all human society. History's greatest prejudice and society's greatest complication has been this inequality of the sexes.

Plato recognized their equality. The Spartan women, the Amazons, the matriarchy had proven their competence.

From training women have learned to subordinate themselves to men. They have catered to win the approval of the stronger sex by adornment, obedience and submission.

It has been a social prejudice to be born a girl or to be left an unclaimed member of a family from the realm of matrimony.

Woman's slavery to man imposes far more than any other condition of slavery. The Church added the woman's "yes" in the marriage ceremony but it was only by taking monastic vows that woman could free herself from compulsion of man's possessiveness.

We should not worship a custom. If it needs changing it should receive intelligent study, consideration, and support.

Because rights were forbidden women, it did not prove they were incapable. They have been kept in an "unnatural" state.

Only women of reigning families have been allowed the same range and freedom of development as men. Society needs leadership. If women possess qualities that make them better suited for some callings, legal prejudice should not bar them out. Society needs the wide range of abilities.

Women's talents are towards the practical. Their observation is keen, they have a "sensibility of the present," and their minds are mobile. Things credited to men have many times originated or been inspired by women.

Women have achieved eminent distinction when it has been allowed. Mill cites Queen Elizabeth, Catherine of Russia, Margaret of Austria, as outstanding rulers. In the arts Sappho, Aspasia, and Madame de Stael were unexcelled.

With their daily tasks women do not have the time for personal development that men do. Mill does not support the idea of the woman sharing the economic burden by working outside the home. It is her duty to manage the household when she has made the choice of marriage.

Women have always exerted a moral influence. The spirit of chivalry was one of the conspicuous examples of it. Today her influence centers around her family, often with a selfish interest to be derived for its gain. We need a reaching out into a world community and an unlimited unselfish devotion in her sphere of moral influence today. With woman's household

drudgery lightened by modern conveniences, she has time and energy to devote to higher purposes. Much unhappiness has occurred when women have lived wasted lives and found no outlet for their capacities. Mature women are admirably suited for public service. Their household management has trained them in wise expenditures and ways of saving.

Mill warns that an active and energetic mind denied expression will seek to exert its influence by seeking power. Throughout history women have diverted their abilities to showing power in dress, fashion, rivalry, immorality, and luxury. The love of power and the love of liberty are antagonistic.

In choosing a mate, Mill opposes the theory that "opposites attract." Companionship exists only between equals; with equal abilities the two natures enrich their lives by the assimilation of the best in ideas and tastes. One should stimulate the other.

Mill had a forward outlook on woman's enfranchisement. The problems he faced have deep-seated evils that demand continuing attention. Renewing the principles Mill set forth would be a challenge today for reformers. Women hold a place and opportunity in our economic life greater than they ever before held.

Even today the fight for the equality of the sexes goes on. Some may challenge the whole idea and say there is no equality but an inter-dependence. The true function should

be to complement each other but this requires recognition of equal rights and privileges.

In 1856 Mill became chief of the office in the India House where he had been serving for thirty-three years. By an act of Parliament in 1858 this company, as a branch of the government of India under the Crown, was dissolved so Mill was retired.

He now had more time to devote to his writing and undertook the revision, with his wife's assistance, of an earlier essay on Liberty. This was the work most carefully composed and painstakingly corrected sentence by sentence.

The essay is on Social Liberty. Its influence reached a wide reading circle and it was destined to live. Even Mill felt the teachings would survive. Though the thoughts expressed are not original, their interpretations have their own mode of expressing truths.

Viscount Morley as recently as 1917 questions whether so short a book has ever before or since produced so instant or so important an effect on contemporary thought as did this volume.

Mill's main purpose in this essay was to limit the power of government to prevent despotism and interference. The liberty of the individual promotes social progress. This treatise is a rational faith in the educational force of liberty. Society should not let its members grow up uninformed and lacking principle.

Mill's second chapter of Liberty is a masterpiece of wise and generous pleading for toleration in opinion, freedom of speech, and liberty of conscience. Liberty applied only to adults and those capable of being influenced by free and equal discussion. Mill emphasized discussion as the capable way of improving mankind and this in turn led to his argument for education. All sides of a question should be presented for discussion. Unless ideas are freely expounded, posterity and civilization become stagnant. Only truth sets men free and triumphs over persecution. It takes courage to follow one's intellect to conclusion but it is the only path to improvement.

Mill believed in the strength of diversity of opinion and the challenge of seeing both sides of a question. It is the reconciliation and combining of elements that sifts the wheat from the chaff. A state in the era of liberty must be able not only to tolerate but to welcome diversity and to do justice to all. A state incompetent to satisfy different races condemns itself, for it is these that possess the greatest intellectual resources and possibilities. Merely conforming to custom is deadening. It is only in making choices that our intellectual powers are called to account. Desire and will build character; desire without will is weakness. It is by cultivating our individuality that we rise. Individuality is realized not through a social process but in unhampered and unrestrained activity. The initiation of all wise or noble things comes from individuals and the glory to the average man

is that he is capable of following this initiative. Individuals of genius should be encouraged in their leadership. Eccentricities promote; without their stimuli we retrogress. Individuality is identified with non-conformity. If people do not dare to be different they cannot be great. Too much assimilation likewise handicaps and conformity is stultifying.

People put government in one compartment in their living instead of seeing it as a fusion of all that affects them.

While some rules of conduct are necessary, what these should be and the agreement on these is the difficult decision. Often rules imposed by society itself are more tyrannical than a ruling power.

The last chapter of Liberty deals with individual rights in which society should not be concerned. Law should not interfere with purely personal conduct. However Mill does not say that all who receive the protection of society have a responsibility they owe it in return.

Individuals have certain inalienable rights which are moral not legal. Today we list the "four freedoms" to illustrate this point. Mill considered the problem of intervention between nations a moral issue and not an economic one. We would limit national groups only to enable all to share freedom and justice in a way of life.

People today need a prophet to clarify the meaning of independence and freedom as Mill did in his day.

Mill envisioned England taking a step towards universal

peace and friendly cooperation of nations by a consolidation of the British Empire. This, he believed, would add moral influence and weight before the world as to the meaning of liberty.

Macaulay in 1835 saw this when he proposed English education in India. Realizing it might create a better government and a desire for an extended liberty, honor would be reflected in England's history. England had men of vision who preached the spreading of the ideas of freedom and self-government throughout her empire.

Mill's book Liberty could well be reviewed today by every thinking person. It is a "philosophic textbook of a single truth" that is influential and valuable reading for the legislator, politician, social reformer, and well-informed citizen.

There is a fallacy in its social philosophy, for Mill justified individuality that did not permit society to interfere with the liberty of the individual only for his self-protection. This extreme premise cannot be maintained, for it is the family that is the smallest substantive organism of society, not the individual. No man's life is or can be solitary. The whole of one's conduct concerns society; we can never mark the area of one's influence. The real weakness of the book is its absolute dogmatism. No doubt Mill would have modified some of his beliefs. His work came at a time when a wave of democratic sentiment had swept the country. People

were questioning the older parties and authoritarianism and his writing was timely.

Before Liberty had been through its final revision, planned for the winter of 1858-59, when he would be retired and spending the winter in the South of Europe, his wife died suddenly of pulmonary congestion. They were travelling at the time. This loss was paramount and most keenly suffered, for she had been the closest of companions.

Remaining near her place of burial, he bought a place at Avignon, and with his step-daughter he continued to write and carry on his work as he felt his wife would have wished it.

He now wrote contributions for Fraser's Magazine. Living in France, where a different color emanated from English remarks and comments, he was prompted to write on the true principles of international morality. His literary life was now occupied with practical politics. Keeping in touch with current affairs through the newspapers and periodicals, deliberately his judgments were formed.

In the years 1860 and 1861 he published some of his earlier writing and enlarged some of his essays into more lengthy treatises. From previously unpublished papers he wrote an explanation of Utilitarianism.

This theory of morals in the nineteenth century was the basis for political and social reform. With the evils that grew up from the rapid growth caused by the Industrial Revolution, this doctrine offered the best system of reform,

for it set up the individual as the prime concern. It was democratic in character. Each one would count as one and no more.

Mill's generation saw the change of power from oligarchy to democracy. During the reconstruction of an old order the Utilitarians had the more workable plan.

This theory was first formulated by the Cyrenaics, later developed by Epicurus, and continued in modern times by Hobbes. It was Jeremy Bentham who made utility an understandable doctrine. "The end of life is happiness" meant to Bentham the greatest good to the greatest number. The Benthamites were cognizant of the importance of knowledge. For the uneducated and young theirs was too high an ethics. Maturity and experience were needed.

Happiness is recognized as the desideratum. Until John Mill recognized unselfishness as a part of the utilitarian doctrine, it could not be concerned with the happiness of society. He gave it a more urbane application at the expense of its inner consistency and awakened a sense of "conscience" in the upper classes.

Mill introduced the concept of qualitative differences in pleasures. Acts are often determined by habit or impulses so that the quantity of pleasure or pain involved has no value in determining the act. The relation of intensity to quantity of pain or pleasure must be recognized.

Mill aimed to make a distinction between happiness and

pleasure. To know how men are made happy is the task of reason.

The ingredients of happiness are varied. Mill maintained actions are right in proportion as they tend to promote happiness; they are wrong if they produce the reverse. Certain things rate more highly. Intellectual pursuits produce more happiness than physical acts due to the permanence gained and the ultimate end. Since Mill placed superiority of mental pursuits over bodily pleasures, he believed our pleasures would be admirable.

Happiness is not a state of ecstasy nor one of long duration. However, it brings tranquillity between its moments of elevation. It is available to all if they know what to seek but it requires mental cultivation and unselfishness. It is not a personal attainment only as it is a reflection from making others happy.

If happiness is not attainable then the stress is to overcome unhappiness. Most evils in the world are removable if one sets about it. Man has an incessant struggle to overcome maleficent powers but he was made capable to carry on this struggle by increasing progress.

Mill worked for the sacrifice of individual happiness for the good of others. Our desire to be in unity with our fellow creatures is a necessary social virtue. Since man conceives himself a member of a body, an organic view of society with an altruistic view is the foundation of utilitarianism.

Bentham had considered only the individual. Unselfish motives and self-sacrifice he did not admit.

"Capacity for the nobler feelings is in most natures a very tender plant."[5] Mill would take the high road, even though it meant dissatisfaction, rather than take the low road to satisfaction. If we claim happiness as a goal, it involves the means to attain it. If we desire it, we must develop and educate our will, until it becomes a habit. The elements of will and altruism constitute good character. So strongly did Mill believe in education as a factor in the improvement of society, that he hoped to change man's attitude and interests by it.

Through the ages there has been little progress made in determining what is right and what is wrong. It is an old question reverting to Socrates query and today we are still inquiring. It is clearly absurd to test right and wrong by our approval or disapproval. We should not make conscience our guide to right and wrong but right and wrong our guide to conscience. Humanity has ever been involved with the belief of both good and evil or double-mindedness and has always pretended to believe it was harder to do good than evil.

Courage is a quality man secured by battling with fear. How strongly one battles and acquires virtues marks the difference in human beings. Virtues are always the effect of

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5. Mill, John Stuart. Utilitarianism. London: Parker, son and Bourn, 1863, p.23.

cultivation. Our moral faculty is a branch of our reason. The modern world is apt to exalt instinct in human action instead of reason. What is done with deliberation reflects man's own action.

One who in acting considers mankind as a whole is called a humanitarian; one who controls his conduct by its presumable effect upon sentient creation is called a utilitarian. Good character is determined by good actions. It was Kant who said, "So act that thy rule of conduct might be adopted as a law by all rational beings."

Justice has its connection with utility . Justice is morality and a moral right. Right does not mean law but a law should mean right. When we speak of a person's right we mean a valid claim he has to demand protection or security. This makes liberty, in Mill's eyes, the greatest social utility. It is not laws but the spirit of the people that preserves or destroys liberty. There are some things which legal compulsion cannot do. It is up to the individuals to <u>feel</u> and <u>act</u> rightly then laws adjust accordingly. It is the people who determine what shall exist.

The withholding of good is a major injustice. Justice is the keynote of Utilitarianism as it survives today. The Golden Rule of Jesus summarizes completely the spirit of utility. If this were practiced and Christianity were true to it, eliminating personal salvation, the two systems would coincide.

In America the Civil War had commenced. This prompted an article in January 1862 for Fraser's magazine entitled The Contest in America. Mill hated slavery and strongly preached that some things were not property. His respect for the North was voiced in upholding a just cause. The printing of this article was delayed in England until the American cause was more favorable because in 1861 an officer of the United States had seized Southern envoys from a British vessel. The feeling in England was intense. He commended England for taking no false step at the time and by conciliating the measure England maintained her moral stand against slavery without a confused issue by this breach.

In the next few years, 1859-1865, Mill wrote on subjects not political. One of these was an Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy with which he had little in agreement. He also wrote an estimate of the doctrines of Auguste Comte.

In 1865 it was proposed that Mill become a member of the House of Commons. His prominence and opinions on the Irish Land Question were recalled. While he had aroused considerable animosity on this question at the time, his influence had been great for he showed a depth and sincerity in his convictions and a breadth in his view. He believed no candidate should seek office or incur personal expense, for it might be interpreted he was seeking personal gain thereby. Mill stated his principles and the stand he took. He supported the belief for woman's suffrage. His frankness and avowals made his trust-

worthiness recognized and he was elected. He considered Parliament a grand institution of national education.

He was a member of the House during three sessions of Parliament, in one of which the Reform Bill was passed. He took a decided stand on Irish affairs and as an advanced Liberal he opposed the Tory government.

In the winter of 1867 he spoke his mind in a pamphlet entitled England and Ireland which discussed territorial and social relations of the country. He opposed separation. He knew the British character would not sanction an extreme course but he argued for a middle course or compromise. He was a strong believer in compromise if possible.

In Jamaica negroes had been flogged and he argued for justice in protecting them. He greatly aroused public sentiment which helped to enact a law for their protection. Mill believed the yoke of opinion heavier than law.

It was during this time in Parliament that he wrote his address delivered to the University of St. Andrews in which he expressed many opinions on a liberal education.

Mill's definition of education is worthy of note, "Whatever helps to shape the human being, to amke the individual what he is, or hinder him from being what he is not - is part of his education."[6]

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6. Mill, John Stuart. Inaugural Address at St. Andrews (Feb. 1, 1867) People's edition. London. Longmans 1867 p.3.

The salient points of this address were to point out the function of a university. It is not a place of specialization but it should be a world in miniature, so that it may offer social training for living. It is a place were tolerance, justice, and good-will prevail; where questions are answered honestly representing a true organ of the whole people.

Mill paid high tribute to the Scottish Universities commending their quality of instruction and their breadth of culture.

A broad general knowledge, without dogmatism, should be diffused. Universities are not to prepare youths for a successful career in society but to give them that manly character to enable them to resist the influences of society. The university must inspire the love of truth. Mill points out the German and French universities as outstanding in their spirit of free inquiry.

While each generation multiplies the number of things to be learned, it increases also our breadth of view and corrects errors in opinions.

Mill favored combining the literary and scientific fields of education in a curriculum. One develops thought, the other the expression of these thoughts.

Some things are better learned in the school of life than in formal education. Modern languages are best learned from intercourse with the people of that tongue. Today we are aware of an emphasis on knowing the language of a people in

order to understand their feelings, ideas, and culture. In our political conferences we are hampered and interpreters are required. Mill was aware of the gain to be derived from the study of peoples and their language.

The university, Mill believed, should devote its time to the ancient languages which provide the foundation for all expression. The treasury of wisdom and conduct from the ancients cannot be taught in modern books. We need contact with the originals which show a perfection of workmanship and a high standard of excellence.

Mill pays high tribute to the study of grammar as a vehicle of thought and analysis. He says, "the structure of every sentence is a lesson in logic."[7] "If you want to know whether you are thinking rightly, put your thoughts into words."[8]

He believes the study of mathematics is greatly overrated. While mathematics helps us to organize our thinking, it is logic that is the intellectual exercise. Mill divides logic into two parts, ratiocination and induction. Ratiocination keeps one from wandering and digressing; induction guards against bad generalization. Logic demands clear thinking and disperses errors.

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7. Mill, John Stuart. Inaugural Address at St. Andrews op. cit. p. 15.

8. Ibid. p.27.

Universities should make its students aware of politics, the civil and political institutions that exist in all civilized nations. The study of international law should be part of a liberal education. "what is called the Law of Nations is not properly law, but a part of ethics, a set of moral rules which will vary from age to age as the consciences of nations become more enlightened."[9]

Mill's conception of a university's curriculum would include the philosophy and criticism of history. The mere accumulation of historical facts can be read by the individual. In the acquisition of scientific knowledge he recommends physiology, psychology and philosophic investigation. The aesthetic elements and the cultivation of feelings would be stimulated through poetry, art and music. The moral and religious training Mill would make the responsibility of the home and family.

In closing his address Mill exhorted those with educational advantages to use their opportunities, to employ their time in worth-while endeavor, and to cherish education as the only enduring possession that makes life deeper, varied and enriched.

In 1868 Mill was defeated in his re-election to Parliament. His differences in opinions had been strongly expressed even among the Liberals, plus a strong feeling of opposition among the Tories. He had been influential and had seen success in

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9. Mill, John Stuart. Inaugural Address of St. Andrews. op. cit. p. 36.

some of the issues for which he valiantly struggled.

Now he retired to private life and to his writing. After five years of retirement, he died near Avignon in 1873. His step-daughter, Mary Taylor, had been a devoted help-mate through his lonely years. The output of his literary work was astonishing. It might be said humanity was his fundamental sentiment, so prodigiously did he work for the improvement of mankind.

CONCLUSION

In the Education of John Stuart Mill we have seen how the cultivation of an intellectual and rational mind enabled him to face the issues of his time, analysing existing problems and working for social reform and progress. Mill's highly developed intellectual powers furnished him a wonderful synthetic ability of welding valuable truths together, aided by his own critical thinking, into an organic whole.

One hundred years ago, the full impact of the Industrial Revolution was being felt in the British Isles. Capitalism was thriving but the common people were suffering from poor working and living conditions. Economic freedoms were curtailed. Liberty, freedom, equality had meaning to John Stuart Mill. He championed the cause of the common people for his and succeeding generations. He was the most profound thinker England had produced since the seventeenth century. More than any other he summed up the best thought of his day, interpreted the problems confronting his era, focused his mind on clarifying them, and aroused interest in reform.

Mill was a good European of his day. His breadth of vision helped him to interpret continental liberalism so that it became the common basis of all English parties. His influence spread widely. His principles of tolerance, justice and human dignity raised the moral stature of his generation. His extensive views promoted in England freedom of thought, a

search for truth, and respect for the liberty and the rights of the individual.

Through his breadth of knowledge and in his writings, he depicted the truth, prepared careful analyses, showed courage in his convictions, was impartial in his judgments, and maintained a definite goal for improving mankind.

His chief claim to leadership was in three popular essays, later published in book form, Liberty, Utilitarianism and the Subjection of Women. His achievements in thought were monumental. His was an active mind and the sincerity of his beliefs was unmatched. His Logic and Political Economy were treatises that exercised a dominant influence over the minds of the thinking world.

Foremost in the evolution of social improvement Mill placed the need of an enlightened and educated citizenry. He deemed it a moral obligation to be intelligent. The difficult and delicate decisions to be made in any era of change call for more and better education. His forward look and assurance, that nothing remains as it is, should give us confidence to advance with the tremendous power of education to shape our destiny and improve conditions everywhere.

Carlyle denouced the governing classes for not knowing how to govern but Mill realized it was not the fault of individuals but of society for not enlightening the minds of the people. It is the force of public opinion, restraining and approving, that carries the evidence of actions.

Compulsion does not come through law but through public opinion. It is the people who determine our policies. They determine the great social trends that carry a nation forward to the more perfect achievement of justice and liberty or backward to barbarism and brutality. Our leaders guide us only by the fact or fallacy in the minds of the people. We have no problems that cannot be solved by intelligence and good-will. The continued failure of man to find the form of organization which tends to create mutual well-being and good-will makes education man's greatest task. No longer can we hope to have a peaceful, happy, productive society if we fail to meet the blustering challenge of ignorance. Never has the need for reliable information, an awakened conscience, and cooperative effort been so urgent. These are the principles John Stuart Mill upheld and devoted his energies to promoting. There is an imperative need to decrease tension that exist between nations, groups, and individuals, that freedom and security may be enjoyed by mankind everywhere.

Since wars begin in the mind, intelligence is our greatest weapon in the fight for peace. The free exchange of ideas and fact between the peoples and nations of the world is our life-blood. Social improvement must be achieved for mankind everywhere. As Wendell Willkie stated in his book <u>One World</u>, "The world is awake to the knowledge that the rule of people by other peoples is not freedom. Not all the peoples of the world are ready for freedom or can defend it but they intend

to work for it, not only for their political and economic satisfaction, but because they believe it is the only hope for mankind."[10] This statement reëchoes much that Mill voiced. We must assert principles of equality and freedom for all; in this renewed determination for the welfare of mankind, we must command all our forces of education and moral integrity. We need an active public opinion. Today we cling to old principles that no longer suit conditions. These have become deeply entrenched. As Mill urgently pleaded, we need to examine our problems in a logical progressive way, preserving the good and overcoming the weaknesses. Man's participation is a healthy policy.

Education teaches men how to control the forces of nature and changes the thoughts and the actions of man himself. Success in political affairs can only be the reflection of our inner strength and the greatest source of inner strength is the security and happiness of the people. Safe and friendly relations between nations, as between individuals, can proceed only out of reciprocity and mutual respect for each other's rights.

Today many of our principles are not clearly defined. This causes confusion and perplexity, which results in a lack of determination and conviction. These principles need the

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10. Willkie, Wendell L. One World. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943. p. 185.

scrutiny and careful analysis that Mill gave the problems of his day. Governments do not succeed by power but by convincing the people of the principles that offer a desirable way of life.

As John Stuart Mill guided public opinion in his generation with a forward look to education, so with him, we believe that everyone is tested, in respect to his individual moral perception, by attitudes towards economic-social ethics. If we are unprepared to declare ourselves, it is our primal duty to study and learn. Inequalities in living standards and education should command our energies. Only individuals who are strong with trained minds are free. Human freedom, individual rights, equal participation are the very essence of democracy. Without education, democracy and our modern economy would perish.

ABSTRACT

In studying The Education of John Stuart Mill we have traced and shown how the process of education developed his high mental and moral powers and how he used these in promoting the welfare of mankind.

Since the purpose of education should be to fit the individual to the world in which he lives and enable him to progress and make his contribution to the advancement of civilization, the study of Mill's education has been rewarding in having fulfilled this purpose.

In reviewing his life we have studied, without exception, a most unusual educational experiment. Taught by his father, James Mill, under a rigid discipline of work and proprietary influence of thought, Mill's attainments were remarkable. At the early age of three he was subjected to learning Greek vocables. His training continued in the ancient classes and traditional knowledge which included readings of Xenophon, Herodotus, Socrates and Plato. The dogmatism of his father's method was due to the fact he wished to train his son as a disciple to carry on his creeds and doctrines.

History received much attention including many Greek and Roman historians. Gibbon, Hume, Robertson, Watson and Hooke were also read. In his early and continued study of history he gleaned rich lessons from the past. Mill strongly believed that to cope with the present men must draw understanding from

the past which holds the deep resources of history. He often recommended to students that they consult the sources and originals for a thorough study of a problem. In historical research Mill studied the correlation of events, relationships and human problems. He discovered the art of conciliation which he strongly advocated as a compromising measure. His great scope of reading gave him an unbiased view and kept his mind mobile to change as more light was shed on a subject. Pericles was Mill's greatest hero of antiquity. Through character study he learned of men's hardships in overcoming difficulties and working for a goal.

Mill's early training in language gave him a rich working vocabulary. In his choice of words he learned precision. He deplored the ambiguous use of terms and recommended careful definition and exemplification of terminology. In composition and writing, Mill was required to study originals as patterns then translate the thought. From models of the best writers he learned unity, compactness and clarity. He learned self-discipline, habits of work, and to think for himself. His habit of revision, requiring painstaking endeavor was early instilled. Mill's power to analyse and to make well-sustained deductions was learned through translating the ideas of the ancients and interpreting them to his father. This also developed his conversational powers. He highly approved this mode of teaching his father employed while they enjoyed their daily walks. These condensations of thought not only perfected

the art of conversation but also through stimulated questioning provoked thought and judgment.

John Mill was fortunate in the rich contacts with superior minds he made through his father's friends who came to his study. These included outstanding men among whom were Bentham, Ricardo, Hume and Austin. His moral excellencies as well as his intellectual powers were nurtured by these friendships.

It was in the study of logic that his greatest capacities were developed. He attributed ability to reason due more to this subject than to mathematics, which he believed was greatly overrated. To him logic was the "science of sciences". It taught one to seek the truth, to investigate and to grapple with ideas. Mill became the greatest logician of his time and contributed a book Logic. His careful exposition of experimental inquiry includes four major steps: method of agreement, method of difference, method of residues, method of concomitant variations. Evidence demands we resolve doubt. One of the grand objects of education is to be able to find evidence. To resolve doubt requires discussion so that prejudices may be removed and proof may be arrived at through reasoning.

Amother major field of Mill's influence was in political economy. His principles still have a dominant influence today. He probed the current beliefs of his time and arrived at his principles of individualism, laissez-faire, property rights, free-enterprise and cooperative effort.

He believed if free competition is interfered with, it must be because in the particular case its evils to society are so great as to outweigh its benefits. Therefore it is an error of society if it is unjust and it needs to be corrected by study and an enlightened opinion.

His principles for individualism and restriction of governmental control are well outlined in Liberty. Regarding property rights, he would not consider land as property; concerning inheritance, he does not believe one has a right only to what one has earned himself.

Mill believed in the democratic way of life. While he upheld trying various experiments in living and leaned strongly towards socialism, he realized democracy, with the individual as the sole basis of authority, was best suited to promote improvement and provide for the progressive education of all. Democracy is an achievement. No form of government is a gift but is is won by a constant struggle over deteriorating forces and is greatly dependent on an enlightened public opinion. The restless activity and energy of the people, the equal opportunities offered, the chance of participation in the administration are some of the strong points favored in a democratic form of government. An active minority group, which offers a dissenting opinion, prevents the "despotism of the majority." He believed civilization to be the accumulation of living values. Without change there would be no growth but without tradition there would be no civilization. He made

a highly significant contribution to the understanding of nationalism. This had no narrow limits or geographic boundaries but included all mankind who possessed the feeling of common sympathies. Mill recognized when hunger, suffering, or prejudice existed in one section of the world it was not confined there. Nations of various nationalities he saw to be the healthiest. Intolerance is corrected by diversity and diversity preserves liberty.

John Mill adapted Utilitarianism to the nineteenth century and used it as a basis for political and social reform. This doctrine of utility set up by Bentham was selfish and lacked feeling but Mill gave it warmth by the inclusion of sacrifice and altruism. This doctrine concerned with seeking pleasure and avoiding pain as a motive of happiness, Mill accepted as his creed. He qualified pleasures. He realized the elements of happiness are varied but he believed pleasures of the mind brought the greatest happiness.

Mill took an extreme view of individualism. He was a great believer in the power of the individual and endeavored to show how factors affecting the individual could mold and influence him in social progress. He was convinced that when enough individuals believe in a goal and become its representatives all opposition is overridden. All of man's intellectual and moral triumphs have been won, not by force, but by one who has seen the vision and worked for its establishment. If enough individuals are aroused to creative faith in decent

possibilities and are resolved to achieve them, progress for mankind is assured. Mill's essay on Liberty, later published in book form, was an outstanding treatise on the individual. In this, too, he believed in diversity even to the point of eccentricity. Unless people dare to be different they cannot succeed. Conformity is stultifying and does not contribute the variety of thought or effort to stimulate. In society there should be contact of different classes, a farming, a leisured, a learned, a commercial class each contributing its part to the common good and whose combined efforts work for the good of all. Guided by education these classes would exert a progressive influence through their force of public opinion.

Associated for thirty-three years as a correspondent in the India House, a position obtained for him by his father, he did a volume of writing. Considerable time was available also for personal endeavors. Mill managed the Westminster Review, a periodical set up as an instrument for Radical reform, and wrote for other periodicals including the Edinburgh and Fraser's magazine. He developed an ardent public spirit for the welfare of humanity. His subjects of reform were timely, practical and of interest. He wrote in the verbatim of the average man with clarity and thoroughness. He put human interest into his theories and principles. Among the questions on which he wrote were the Irish land question, the French Revolution and politics, the civil contest in America and the equal suffrage movement. His most important work, in

his mind, was his influence in extending equal suffrage. His essay on the Subjection of Women forcibly expresses his views on the equality of the sexes.

As a member of Parliament his high intellectual position gave him the chance to be heard. He was respected as a character of great moral influence. He nobly took criticism and disagreement. He always honored an honest opinion even though it might be adverse to his belief. He believed Parliament to be a great institution of national education.

We can not overlook some of the points that are considered on the adverse side of Mill's training. A rigid, intense pattern was imposed. Domination and the strict supervision of his father opposed any cultivation of feeling and emotion. Laboring many hours a day he learned only the stern realities of life. He knew no happy, care-free childhood. In a mental crisis in his twenties he felt the deficiencies of his earlier training. The strong emotional feeling for his wife may have resulted from earlier repression of demonstrative feeling. Many of his ideas concluded through cold analysis were later modified and much of this he claims was due to his wife's influence. While many are ready to concede Mill's training was too rigid or that he had a "manufactured mind", time proved he was no robot for he continued his high level of writing and influence after all supervision was over. Though the dogmatism of his father's doctrines made his mind adhere to an original bent of thought while struggling to free itself,

he earned compensations by developing a feeling for poetry, appreciating the influence of environment, modifying his religious negation and recognising deficiencies in his earlier beliefs. Some things of course could not be compensated. Lack of varied exercise had left him physically clumsy. His lack of boyish companionship had hampered his power to adapt himself to others. He was, however, trained to analyse his thoughts and was imbued with an ideal to better the conditions of mankind. He was acknowledged a benefactor of his race.

Finally, his greatest contribution permeating all else, was his great belief in the educability of people and what the power of education could do for social progress. Only a radical improvement in education can cope with changing conditions and new problems. A nation cannot rise above the level of its average citizen. Mill looked to the middle class as a stabilizing factor in progress. He exhorted those in the universities to seek truth, to regard education as an enduring, enriching possession, and to use their capacities for the welfare of mankind.

He urged the continued progress of education. To him the world itself changed as his understanding continued to develop. No question was ever closed to him. He was continuously shedding new light on his principles by advancing his education. The capacity for growth he believed he owed to his father's early training. He believed much more could be taught in earlier years. Unless high standards of achievement are set

up and demands excessive, Mill believed a pupil would not measure up or exert himself to his capabilities.

Mill did not believe in regimentation or State controlled education. He believed life and experiences as well as books, contributed to one's education. Education is to supply information through a broad general culture and to train the faculties, for which he highly commends the study of logic. It is through education that the people are awakened to the force of public opinion. It is this that compels change and reform. Unless peoples understand each other and work for the welfare of all mankind freedom, liberty and equality are meaningless.

For the education of John Stuart Mill and the influence of his principles, mankind is indebted. Such a challenge to our intellectual and moral development is no mere theory but a proven possibility. The generous aspirations of John Stuart Mill have become embodied in many of our social institutions. His rigid exercise of thought, his clear pursuit of truth, his largeness of outlook have dominated our social progress.

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